/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

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1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

> 2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: 175 the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, 167 which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor,
634 the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial
factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
● 175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwibaun;
634 in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening,
the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions
that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides
with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 101 634 619 [823] /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 101 634 619 [128] It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions. Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] 361 619 These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phenomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed, reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture, composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets, it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty, and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the life of the high cantons.

619 634

Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

101 •175 181 [166] This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms, starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic, and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./
634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for
several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises
[361] in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important
634 sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme
sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary
to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate
at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern
634 times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation,
619 the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained
634 for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious
aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n-Trga and, from there,
to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
634 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between
101 which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous
block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
• 175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond
trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions
ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between
the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./

634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the
[426] saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
[181] he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talfint. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green
[241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the
limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark
buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins
[619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the
country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for-
[794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint.
Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Âbdella

634 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
101 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity
619 at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official
investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
• 175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the
sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
726 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied
619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân,
it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible
lesson still remain.

133 634 /58 cont./

in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/

V. Historical Backgrounds

● 175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

114 175 Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114 /footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish
175 sources, not very abundant and exterior to the
128 society being considered. On the contrary,
127 the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128
174 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
175 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce,
and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the
Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order
to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a *taqbilt* is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key
to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent *ikhs*-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they
/61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/62 cont./

212 613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

● 175 [173] A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 175 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks *sub specie aeternitatis*.

[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

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1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," *Hesp.*, 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634
619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
printed in small type./ The one of the a. Àbdella (1),
of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncer-
tainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
that the a. Àbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bul^{c}wân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
619 Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiṛan.

634 In the case of the a. Àbdella, whose whole history indicates
vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Àbdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}Abd Allah.

/74 cont./
487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo,
Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

> 2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
● 175 On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
619 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

> 1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^{c}At'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
175 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi
619 ^{c}At'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of
an attested affidavit of çafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several
times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),
619

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
[613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity
can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ^{c}Ali Usikis and Tasselli, those of ^{c}Abd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the an-
[776] cestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the
saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

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2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, 1. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, 11. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

[Idma]

619 173 • 175 [166] /*75 cont.*/
the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The *Fawâ'id*, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /*76*/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of [103] a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," *bur n-lâz'*, just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," *talâint n-jju*^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," *iger n-bhenkuk*. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 721 619 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

[175] [423] The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 613 619 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split up, ikhs by ikhs.

621 619 613 173

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch. a. Wakrim.	Idma, came from Tasselli. Iseqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt,
175 the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of
619 Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents
concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemʿa, he rounded up in his house. ʿAbdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmudʿat.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'ʿajj Bujmʿa, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed
[731] estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epi-
[428] demic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

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1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619
173
• 175
(428)
(731)

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms. [648]

173
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His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174
175 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for
634 Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175 Here now are two documents from annals.
The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
639 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have
a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities.
The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan:
they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to
create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the
latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not
want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a
single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the
point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will
not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God
save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know
that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with
them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan
619 and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar
Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up
to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance
was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to
him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175 /81 cont./

726 But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 "The 9 çafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night
539 from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left
726 on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a.
Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it,
619 thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 539 726 619 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gšir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] [814] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclusions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

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Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision," 175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal 619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze. 127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements. 3

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, 174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a. 619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175 174 619 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[926] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of [361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwiẓgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'âjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'âjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziẓa). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of *auctoritas*.

The documents of *istir^{c}â'*, "ritual protestation" against [539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gâr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

/85 cont./

● 175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among
them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istir^{c}â'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the
Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâîd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the
epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the
mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/*86 cont.*/
175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, *Notes sur les Tekna* /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, *op. laud.*, at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[776] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young,
vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a
third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzan/. Then the
whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus
the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard
physiognomy. That happened but little among the Ṣeksawa,
175 except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this
631 order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before
648 the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of
Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original
source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a.
Bah'ammô. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and
the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the
H'âh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he
left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbâs in order for him to put them in contact
with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that
Mulay H'asân made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him.
[661] After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of
caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Mâl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammô as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./
175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer
specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different.
The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ^{c}adûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ^{c}Abd ar-Rah'mân b. ^{c}Abd Allah
ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of
651 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the
feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ^{c}achûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ^{c}ummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne.
It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan
Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken
by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne him-
self, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved
in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified
the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small
republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one
form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this
disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents,
if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because
certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will
not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it
will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the
stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in
[901] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in
order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa,
Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

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[121] 1. We have studied them from the viewpoint
[113] of the psychological documentation that they

/111 cont./

246 675 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 675 634 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn. The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. ● [175] It was the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. 675 221 178 One will be more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance, although coming out of this international law, refer still today to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/116 cont./
000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
● 175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been abandoned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones. "That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhumance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in the acute periods of the *siba* (1)."

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1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on *La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout*, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: *çaheb* or *amddakk^{w}el*.
221 Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people. Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the grateful beneficiary and of the protegé. At the time of his arrival, he presents *luqfa* (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up" /Fr. *dresser*/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ *sbidd*, a verb used in the expression *sbidd* *l^{c}âr*, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the at-
312 traction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the
tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart,
that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior
to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive
erosion. Whence a very long ségula, which the streamlet of
water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its
entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their
oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/
Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than
[175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the
Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the
neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tab-
gurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands
and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these
treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tab-
gurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's
eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or
three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the
invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the
past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not
know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many
traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did
[172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are
crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla
Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of
Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait
Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population,
new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined
directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at
300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took
place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed
to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the
investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/199 cont./

423 178 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 133 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 634 648 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant, but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it [628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]
[Ibuban]

Now, not only has
/207 cont./ this territory not offered for at least
178 half a century a favorable field for the preservation of traditional
● 175 organizations, since it has fed the fortune of a family of chiefs
and, like Bul^{c}wân downstream, it has often been the cadre of interventions of the power of the plain, but also it was occupied by
[631] the enemy for 20 years, as is known. The "caid" Chtittihi
having been killed, his family took refuge at Z'init'. The country was almost entirely colonized by the "caid" Mokhtar, his conqueror. The a. Musa did not return until 1927. Yet one of them had probably sold the totality of the perimeter to a European protector: at least the latter argued this in the course of a long and violent litigation, which was not settled by the Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/ in favor of the a. Musa until very recent years. Violent expulsion; then de facto reoccupation, depositing of a demand for collective registering, and of a counter-demand by the European purchaser, collective and privative oppositions, investigations, judgments, arrest: all that was necessary in order to settle again juridically, after a disturbance of half a century, the ownership of the a. Musa.

Now, on the one hand, in the course of this litigation the parcellary rule -- which would have explained everything -- was never invoked; and, on the other hand, it was according to it, and down to the details, that the a. Musa have resettled. Let us reflect on which of these two facts is the most revealing of the organization and psychology of the Seksawa.

Albur country: E. the Ibuban, ...

133 This high country is covered with an epaulement by a crest that falls on the E. into the trench of the asif n.-a. Mh'nd. On all sides political frontiers torment an ensemble henceforth closed. Formerly, it was supposed to have access to water and access to the two great routes from the mountains to the plain, by way of the torrents of the a. Mh'nd and of the a. Lh'sen. It has lost them. To the E. the peaks of the Awrir n-Zkkat', of the Ameznir, and of the Ferkt, this latter overlooking the ground of the Tizi n-Wandras (1,656 meters), now constitute a limit

/216 cont./

613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzũyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly
131 limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzũyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the *amghar*-s of the a. Âbdella. Let us understand that this was a *no man's land* /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in /217/ a triangle between the valleys of the *asif*-s Seksawa and Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zũyma equally claimed by the a. Âbdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

/219 cont./

114 121 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," Actes et Mémoires du III^{e} Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
● 175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, agharas ugellid, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
[634] those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Châib and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

/237 cont./

778 776 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882: "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ^c^Amran /The Ait Ba ^c^Amran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. [184] How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. [167] Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

779 671 /242 cont./
ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only
779 671 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2).

In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and
[171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

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[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52, l. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ^{c}Ayâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbî (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}ukkâz in the same sense).
[784] Th[illegible] matched this operation with terrible imprecations against
anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be
penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/273 cont./
776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of
the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of
Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the
bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of
all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price
on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their
ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

[175] 1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ^{c}Abd al-Karîm b. ^{c}Umar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumti^c al-asmâ^c, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

/276 cont./
794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a prefer-
875 ence share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recom-
pense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of adminis-
[231] tration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close rela-
tions, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),
the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he re-
[796] quested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the begin-
ning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî
(sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

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1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

175 /277 cont./
the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2)

675
[776]
[126]

> 2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these
mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times.
This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested
since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic
notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play
on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary
codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even
yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ in-
novating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice,
tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompa-
nied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the
dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies,
it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the
relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from
[776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[432] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
[452] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls
[693] and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Else-
where we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/From p. 278 of the original source./

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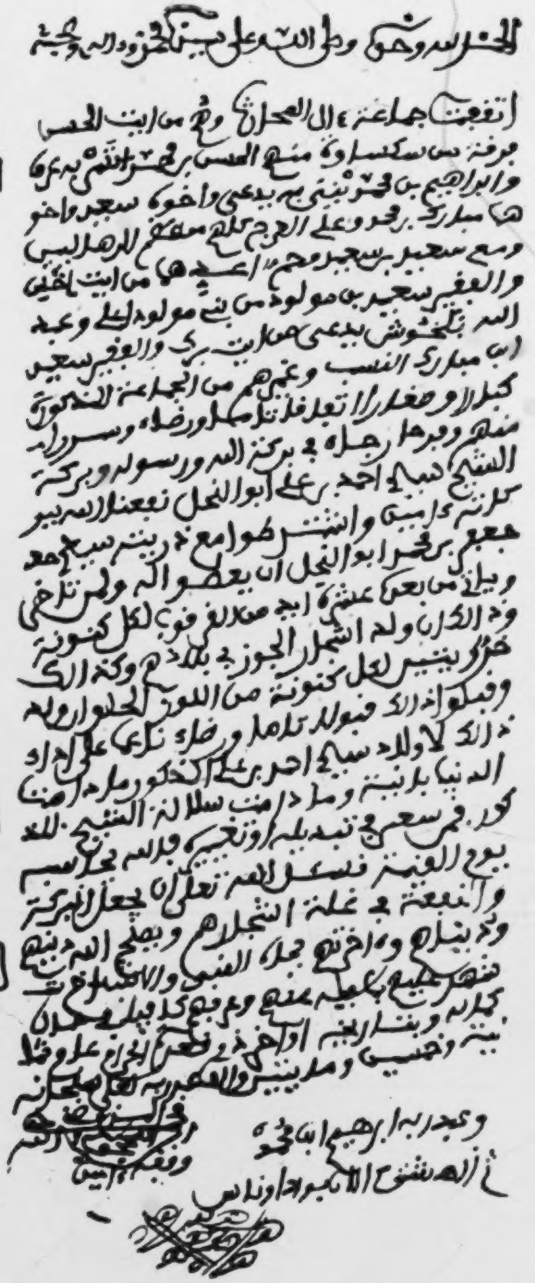

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

اتفقت جماعة [illegible] وهم من ايت الحسن
[illegible] من سكنساوة منهم الحسن بن محمد [illegible]
وابراهيم بن محمد [illegible] واخوه سعيد واخو
[illegible] مبارك بن محمد وعلى [illegible] كلهم [illegible]
ومع سعيد بن سعيد محمد [illegible]
والفقير سعيد بن مولود من ايت [illegible]
[illegible] من بني مولود [illegible] ومحمد
ابن مبارك [illegible] والفقير سعيد
وغيرهم من الجماعة المذكورة
كبارا وصغارا اتفاقا تاما ورضاء
منهم [illegible] في بركة الله ورسوله وسر
الشيخ سيدي احمد بن علي ابو النخل نفعنا الله ببركته
كلهم [illegible] واشترط [illegible]
[illegible] ابو النخل ان يعطوا اليه ولمن تناسل
[illegible] لكل كانونة
[illegible] اشجار الجوز في بلادهم [illegible] وكذلك
[illegible] لكل كانونة من اللوز الحلو [illegible]
وقبلوا ذلك قبولا تاما ورضاء [illegible] على
ذلك لاولاد سيدي احمد بن علي [illegible] الدنيا
[illegible] وما دامت سلالة الشيخ [illegible]
فمن سعى في تبديله او تغييره فالله حسيبه [illegible]
[illegible] فنسئل الله تعالى ان يجعل البركة
والمنفعة في غلة اشجارهم
[illegible] بلادهم [illegible] وبلغ الله [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] اواخر ذي القعدة الحرام عام ثمانية
وخمسين ومائتين والف

وعبد ربه ابراهيم [illegible]

[776] →

[126] →

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ^cAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zāwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
(171) raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a
ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains
that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evi-
dently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely dif-
ferent order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former
domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between
Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called
Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut
tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at
Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at
Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and
at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is
striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on
a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the
agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called
"limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum
in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773] the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they
[823] see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief,
amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa,
[776] and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one
against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776] lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about
[794] forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

/295 cont./

796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1), to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

776 551 171

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[171] 1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

776 /296 cont./

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/, *Hesp.*, 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, *Conférences*, *A. M.*, 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, *Au coeur de l'Atlas* /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," *A. M.*, 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Âbdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahir of *tawqîr* of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called *sâh'a*, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

175 776 /297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1).

1. Abû'l-^{c}Abbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

/297 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khatîb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ᶜizz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, 1. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G. S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'urra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ᶜAzîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ^{c}Azîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ^{c}Âmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ^{c}Âmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 (114) 1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175 776 792 /footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^{c}za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, *Mélanges R. Basset*, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, *ibid.*, p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the *Ih'yâ'* of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^{c}Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, *op. laud.*, p. 59, n. 1).

175 776 What historical precision! ^{c}Âmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^{c}Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian *siba* against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./

175 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the
776 critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite,
on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla
[778] Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental
hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

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[778] Sidi ^{c}Âmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ^{c}Âmer, has
his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the
place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ^{c}Âmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a
cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the
people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
[796] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March),
the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much
smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary
if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old
acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of
the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

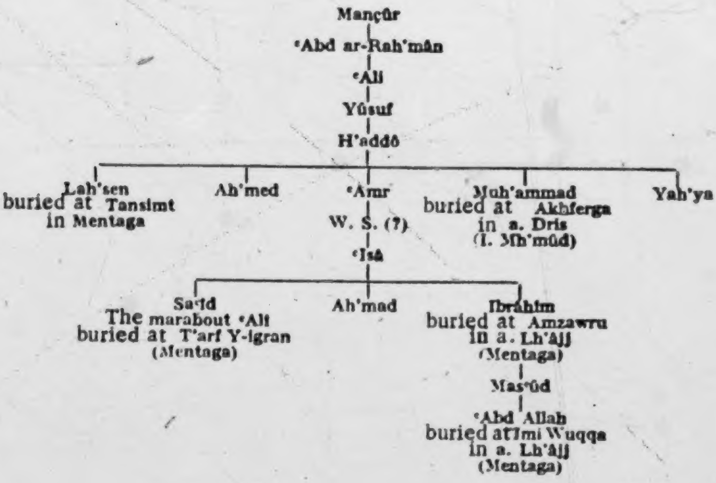
175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation,"
428 that ^{c}Âmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the
people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal,
a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day
when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates,
for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece
per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter
in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 776 794 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "whoever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in viands."

428 There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 428 601 602 776 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the rightful claimants. Here it is.


Mançûr
ʿAbd ar-Rah'mân
ʿAli
Yûsuf
H'addô
Lah'sen
buried at Tansimt
in Mentaga
Ah'med
ʿAmr
W. S. (?)
ʿIsâ
Muh'ammad
buried at Akhferga
in a. Dris
(I. Mh'mûd)
Yah'ya
Saʿid
The marabout ʿAli
buried at T'arf Y-igran
(Mentaga)
Ah'mad
Ibrahim
buried at Amzawru
in a. Lh'âjj
(Mentaga)
Masʿûd
ʿAbd Allah
buried at Imi Wuqqa
in a. Lh'âjj
(Mentaga)

175 428 602 776 /301/ This ^{c}Abd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ^{c}Alî b. Sa^{c}îd, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 127 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the *waçiyya* of ^{c}Amr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Sa^{c}dian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 602 428 776 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ^{c}Amr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Sa^{c}îd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ^{c}Amr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ^{c}Abd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ^{c}Abd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other docu-
602 ments. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral
428 tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut
776 Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?): they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (^{c}ajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ^{c}Abd Allah integrated them among his own. As for
[567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân
b. ^{c}Amr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ^{c}Amer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ^{c}Abd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza.
[567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or
Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ^{c}Abd Allah b. ^{c}Amr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./
175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-^{c}Arûf, Ulwâh',
602 Mbârek, ^{c}Abd as-Salâm, Sa^{c}îd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No
428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line,
776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have
ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the
tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants.
[613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears
the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is
known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle
of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a çadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ^{c}Amr, again through ^{c}Abd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they
postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person-
[175] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation.
[602] From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing.
Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ^{c}Amer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ^{c}Abd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ^{c}Umar or ^{c}Amr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubtedly
796 armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-^{c}Alamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ^{c}Alam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series
175 of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the
plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field
776 in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qīhra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghānem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqīh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ^{c}Arība, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/311 cont./

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supernatural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries -- Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

/324 cont./

693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tárad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
634 a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property
69 case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
69 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manāhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'āq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqariḍīn, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121 1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not [114] serious for comparison.. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

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1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
175 salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
465 Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
794 5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work
there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

/332 cont./

695 571 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

[175] /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian h'âkim Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian cojuratio in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the lafîf: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 695 613 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait differently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described, but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the timezgida of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of ikhs of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same ikhs, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

[674] Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 695 613 /333/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the *timezgida*, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of *s.m.h'*, *gh.f.r.*, *ch.h.d.*, proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental *initium* thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between *ikhs*-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 695 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primitivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a *fqih*, Abdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a *cojuratio*. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," *radda nafsahu fī jihat*, and "is returning," *tâb*, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/333 cont./

175 695 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ^c^adl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

1. Al-^c^Iraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-^c^Arabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'^c^Amal /Commentary of the ^c^Amal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ^c^adl, and nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/ this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this subject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was [171] 695 175

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long
175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the
complementary oath imposed ~~by~~ the cadi on the cowitnesses of the *lafîf* was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
[195] inal source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ^{c}Abd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: *^{c}alâmu^{c}âyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ^{c}alâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-du^{c}â'i bi'lbarakat*. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (*sic*): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the *baraka*, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of *bayyînat* in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/
[212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in *lafîf*. "*Astawqafa* (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (*sic*) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses *astachhada* in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/335 cont./

695 initial act, here called sijla, recopied "for fear of destruction by 175 wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary responsa justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the jemâa, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word du^{c}â', has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1). But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the Wathâ'iq of al-Mattîtî to the recent commentary of the Fir^{c}ûnîya. At what time did this art

1. As-Suktâni, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^{c}Abdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, bâb ach-chahâdât, pp. 135 sq., seems to use murd'iy in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to wathâ'iq formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

/335 cont./
695 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitāb ummahāt al-wāthā'iq
175 from Daud at-Tamulī or at-Timlī, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 As for the role of the "just," ^{c}adl, whom a pan-Islamic evo-
794 lution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to com-
693 pare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulāzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nāçirī devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/345 cont./
675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
779 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
792 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
175 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
585 initiator from the Moroccan South.

675 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 11 sq.

779
792 /346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth cen-
175 tury. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and con-
585 verter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had
675 surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and
martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything
other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the
examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as
much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its
orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175 But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the
584 Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the four-
teenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate
groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this
584 was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise
(796) exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and
the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible
(782) obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape
from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of
former collective functions? The written sources impose a salu-
tary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

585 /The following three paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
675 inal source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers
175 some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been,
since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

/346 cont./

585 675 175 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose, wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the two married people. The çadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money, ^{c}abbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a çadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 [562] However that may be then, not only in the division of the acquests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity. One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contractual acuity. 585 171 Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

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(1) Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a, Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

613 178

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 671 [171] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

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1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover,
421 the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the
175 reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Sa^{c}îd b. ^{c}Abdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence
421 and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

> 1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Ifohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/355 cont./

423 /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
175 inal source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the oc-
691 casion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{W}a. The jemʿa proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{W}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{W}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

175 A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.:
691 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the
423 ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack
425 the Idma recovered it. But certain ikhs-s were false, being on
the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

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691 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name survives. The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of [103] toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled, it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation [613] of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now [436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside. This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting, aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society. The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment [192] (1).

1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/356 cont./

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[192]

/footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ^{c}orf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

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/357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (^{c}imâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 423 425 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 671 171 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 671 (613) Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

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423 671 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'ddan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1)

1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 423 671 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabī^{c}nabawī 1266 Heg.: 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

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671 It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the *ac̣l* was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the *fiqh*.

425 /*359*/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the *rrahn* (1).

1. On the Berbère /Berber/ *rrahn*, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the *Istiqçâ'*, and from the *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî* on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, *Ajwiba*, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^{c}Abdalmawlâ, pp. 80 *b* sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle *rahn* by H.-L., *Kabylie*... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

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425 to tolerate the latter as a fait accompli. They even use the argument of this vicious clause to rescind the sale in exchange for reimbursement. And that even after lapses possibly exceeding a century, and during which the possession effected no prescription. Rescission and application a posteriori in this case come back to practically the same thing. They are of interest to us only through the judicial preoccupation that they express to offer a local form absolutely irreducible to orthodoxy.

But here are further significant aspects. With the assimilation with the classic thunyâ are already distinguished some elements of of a singular archaism. Thus in the modes of "resiliation." It takes effect reckoning from the payment of a portion of the sum, tamuzunt, /360/ tauqit, that is, of an "obole." In a. Abdella, the deposit is made on the pile of fruit. Everything happens as if the lessor thus re-establishes communication that was interrupted by the collecting of the price. Such seems to be the substrate of what was later interpreted as security, sale with power of redemption or with resolutory condition. Even at present a devaluation of a hundredfold to one has not taken from the Seksawa any of the gravity with which they effect the liberation of the field, its ransom, tefdiyya/ ifda, iftida, in exchange for sums of a ridiculously small amount. For there is in all that indeed something other than the quantitative.

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175 . Truly an ancient form: al-Bakrî points out the existence of it in this part of the Atlas in the eleventh century. He undoubtedly connects it with some montagnard heresy: râfid'î-s or worshipers of the ram. During periods of religious zeal the reaction of the learned became vehement. Thus, in 970 Heg.: 1563, the official interdiction of this contract was proclaimed at Taroudant. This was a period of fervor and strong political power. At about this period the mystic Ah'med u. Musa died. The Sâadian Mawlây ^{c}Abd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah begged for his approbation and had conferred on himself the quality of ^{c}adl by the doctors of the South. This was also the time when the Arab notarial practice became generalized in the Atlas. However that may be, the interdiction did not hold against the customary unanimity that it

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425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamā^{c}a cadi of Taroudant, Sa^{c}īd ibn ^{c}Alī al-Hawzālī, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanārtī, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

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The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

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432 that one can very roughly imagine from the lists of ancient acts
that sometimes fall into our hands. Naturally during periods of
famine usury practices its ravages. People remember in a. Ab-
[175] della the years 1295-96 Heg. when a piece of land was sold for
one riâl! But the grandfather of the present amghar confiscated
all these acts one day, put them in a pile the height of a donkey
in Inzzūyma, and set them on fire: and everyone regained his
rights.

This was a violent procedure. There are others. In fact the ratio of sales is much smaller than that of one out of four. Now, whatever might be the nature of the terms that there has been care to have consigned to it, the local law will change the resiliable act, make it slip in some way into the inferior category, if the wording in the least presents a weakness or irregularity of technical order: a single notary instead of two, and two who are qualified; the seller's suddenly producing an iqâla, "resiliation," the fact that there has been no tradition; that the lessee does not have peaceable possession, etc. Obviously all sorts of obstacles are raised against the consolidation of the sale.

It is thus that a dissertation, undated, but attributed to the son of sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, who would have to go back to the second third of the seventeenth century, assembles in a potpourri all the nullities that can infirm a sale: indetermination, chance, injury, conditional stipulation. Fine manifestation of pedantry conspiring with the inalienability that local instinct wants and which such codification will express by decreeing that whoever is convicted of wanting to alienate land to a foreigner must sacrifice a cow as an offering to the jemâa.

/362/ Indeed, even better, the seller can unilaterally go back on his act, either because he declares himself wronged or constrained: this is then a declaration of istir^{c}â', or because he "repents": this is then an istighfâr al-bay^{c}. Lacking written jurisprudence, one poorly knows what the judiciary effect of these declarations might be. Undoubtedly to contribute to creating a climate propitious for revendication, rather than to orient the procedure, henceforth bilateral, decisively. A trace undoubtedly,

/363 cont./

432 [195] [175] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093 Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^c mâ la-hâ fî dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in [illegible]52 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562 2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
428 exercised not only in the margin, /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic
sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
[432] procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
[184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ monograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa, a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir, Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
[175] of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-
over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulîî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

175 683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money. It is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamî^c umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^c il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

175 681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

175 683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîâ, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^{c}abbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

175 682 [623] [628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Âbdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîâ for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh':
[634] 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account
transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do
[634] this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense.
The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/375 cont./
634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," *a^{c}wân*.
554 On a very old document the *moqaddem* bears the name, fallen
into disuse here, of *anflus*. There is incontestably designation by
the group. Election by all or co-optation by the *ikhs* chiefs? It
is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between
these two formulas. Certain groups practice specia[l] modalities.
Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of
Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between
[613] *ikhs*-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases
of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly
interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it
might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
[648] were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir.
The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The
latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the
official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after
a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the
ritual formula: *ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a*. The elected chief bears no
title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their
name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make
peace (*al-^{c}âfiya*) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The
expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism
here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is
nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the
ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of
expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The *moqaddem* represents the *jemâa* in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing
prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is
charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the presta-
tions of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and
poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mu-
tual assistance, *fiqh* retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable
is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as
a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the
guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical
power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there
is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a
new political morality. The automatism that the commune
looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary
valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly
iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without
the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification
henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a
praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke
religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied,
among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation
with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and
pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of
individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the
strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts
of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense
the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the
very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of
enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe
with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories
have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth.
It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution
could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
[794] affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine,
and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act
coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous,
mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of
Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and
more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws
up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as
has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural
ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root
expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its
character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction
on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being
mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o,
the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regu-
[651] latory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him.
Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical
document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year
report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up
in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures
(1).

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[436]
[104] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/379 cont./

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[652] We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem expresses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

[554] Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An accountancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

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634 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

[613] Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqaddem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/381 cont./

671 212 many dissertations to it (1).

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ^{c}Abd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native
law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose
at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch
of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel
generalization of these codifications. The very name of these
elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of
which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a
lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating
this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of
an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from
one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of
which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional
scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with
sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the content of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for robbery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
671 tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the
779 value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time
that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some
779

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these
codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though
it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand
out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these
texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the
unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One
knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to
disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
675 fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual commitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted
moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It
obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter,
curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the
consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract
thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter.
It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw
Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what
they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these
documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/392 cont./

181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authenticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From
177 day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
[779] with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are
[675] adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude, indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats.
175 The decrescendo of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

/393 cont./

175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

175 121 343 712

1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerŵalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S. W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

/393 cont./

175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to
[184] perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

/409 cont./

Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

171

121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/
type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbérophone societies
of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational
value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research
hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These
175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years
121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have
played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity
of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must,
however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On
this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential
aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes
between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the
Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against
the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of
the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their
plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of
antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would
have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well
safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

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[For a detailed cultural history of Morocco from Roman times to the early 20th century, with special emphasis on the region of the Sous, see category 116, pp. 25, 34-48, and 71-151.]

/17 cont./
133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
[361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Maᶜcho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
101 Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/21 cont./

226 primitive nets thousands of tuna and bonito, which are sold, 438 dried or cooked, at a great distance at the markets of the interior. 133 But, in spite of the interest that the complementary resources of fishing present for this poor country, the shores of the 361 Ocean remain nearly deserted. The scarcity of springs, insuffi[226]cient activity of the inhabitants, and the dangers of the shelters and beaches contribute toward making the shores of the Atlantic one of the most classic types of "côte de dispersion" /coast of dispersion/.

133 Moreover, the difficulties of access to the coast have most often sufficed to keep foreign navigators away. 361 As in all the other Atlantic regions of Morocco, the masters of the sea who 648 were trying to get a foothold on the continent encountered here, as a matter of fact, a double difficulty: first of all they had to conquer the perils of the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/ and then the resistance of the tribes, whose habitat located in the interior escaped their direct reach. These circumstances explain [439] at the same time the repulse of outside intervention /22/ and the feeble vitality of the small ports of the Ocean, whose role has been limited to small-scale fishing and the commercial traffic of a poor country, retired within itself, and which for a long time has asked the Occident only for arms in order to defend itself and thus to preserve its isolation better.

Thus no maritime Berbère /Berber/ civilization has ever been seen to rise on the banks of the Sous, since the autochthons have shown themselves incapable of leaving the shore in their too-fragile boats, any more than there developed lasting foreign activity that might have perceptibly modified the life of the 175 country. The Phoenician settlements founded by Hannon /Hanno/ 177 in the fifth century before our era had only a fleeting life and disappeared without leaving any traces. In the time of Juba, the Fortunate Isles -- the Archipelago of the Canaries -- seem to have been the objective of the Roman fleets much more than the poor shelters of this coast of the Sous. Later the Arab sailors who frequented the shores of the Atlantic from Tangier to Senegal up to the thirteenth century do not appear to have given much atten- 000 tion to the south of Morocco. When at the end of the fourteenth century Jean de Bethancourt /Béthencourt/ took possession of the Canaries, where populations of Berbère /Berber/ or Libyc origin,

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 648 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 177 182 361 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Musulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

/46 cont./
565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center
that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the
South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra
among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence
of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several
centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in
the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the
Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted
for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient
villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes
serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
433 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great
expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can
pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is
the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in
the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the
springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the
small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of
the bottom of the large valleys.

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

[101] 2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt. [792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, [795] is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their *631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this 159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan •175 Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

/121 cont./
*631 succeeded in again extending his power further after the submis-
159 sion of the chiefs of the South to France. The death of that great
(175 policy, which took place in 1919, did not lead to the ruin of his
work; his nephew, Si Hammo, received in his inheritance most of the mountain tribes; his young /122/ brother in particular, El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, was consequently able to play an important role in the pacification of Morocco. His military and political successes earned for him the highest distinctions. Through his cleverness in gaining the support of the highest authorities by multiplying sumptuous receptions, the pasha acquired the reputation of an all-powerful and magnificent leader, and he willingly appears to foreigners as the viceroy of the South of Morocco.

In the upper valley of the Nefis dwells the old Si Tayeb Gontafi, already famous in the reign of Moulay el Hasan for his courage, ambition, and immense wealth. Although his political fortune has not been as brilliant as that of the Telwet chiefs, from his medieval burg of Tagontaft or his picturesque dwelling of Talat n Yaqoub he governs five large mountain tribes in the very center of this country which in former times was the kingdom of the Almohades. Not long ago, after the death of the vizier Ba Hmad, regent of the young Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, Gontafi warred in the Sous plain and conquered part of the Anti-Atlas. Won over to France in 1912, he commanded the marches of Tiznit in the name of the Sultan for four years and held in check the last unsubjugated Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South.

Still more to the West we find, in the casbah of Bouaboud, ᶜAbd el Malek Tiggi, chief of the Mtougga. Like his rival of the Nefis and his Telwet competitor, he has command on the two versants of the great chain, but his possessions extend besides, toward the North, over several Arab tribes of the "Azaghar" of Marrakech (1).

1. Azaghar in Berbère /Berber/ has the meaning of plain, most often large plain. The small plains, particularly when they are cultivated, often take the name of Tagragra.

/132 cont./

221 233 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 *631 177 578 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be introduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose frequency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 •175 178 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs, which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Aït Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/133 cont./

• 175 *631 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised in a form very different from that which we observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the "Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir" of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes 175 *631 *634 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen from one of the old families of the villages and who represented the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But [651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Aït Arbaᶜin," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

/134 cont./

•175 /footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas
*631 the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected
*634 or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for
a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In
[178] the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all
the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits,
[671] an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines
[652] imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of
[712] "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the
[343] peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of
*631 contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues.
Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

/135 cont./

•175 *631 *634 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a [669] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high mountains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to accept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible government of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar." Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in the fractions of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, the Aït Lhasen, the Idma, the Aït Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 *634 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the traditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the [178] "amghars," one still sees the "Aït Arbaᶜin" and the "moqaddems" holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the progressive development of personal power prepares and announces the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the [648] general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies [578] disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./
*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and
around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs
in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arbaᶜin" or
"inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character
was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and,
moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were
more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the
•175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At
*631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely
*634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was
actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among
[651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail,"
he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices
[127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the
[114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western
*631 Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of
Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject
regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas
that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
[619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions
[178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the
common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with
in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above
the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian
republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted
everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
•175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means
of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

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•175 *631 178 [619] [578] In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliphate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, Mʿader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

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1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 128 *631 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/165 cont./

*631 typical example: made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an impression
*634 of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions
and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence,
•175 attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
619 of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The diverse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

*631 *634 619 175 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have discussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ᶜAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization. *631 *634 619 175 131 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity. This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

[728]

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

/166 cont./

*631 /footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Mou-
*634 men (Documents inédits /Unpublished docu-
619 ments/, pp. 62, 194).

•175 We again find at present a group of Aïrt
131 /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik,
[728] former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

*631 But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens
619 that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements
175 then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka,
which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634] Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for
619 their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain
•175 specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for
[778] war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 One might wonder whether the historical confederations,
174 whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the impor-
174 tance that the bonds of confederation still have among the semi-
171 nomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

•[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
175 which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through
[648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger
[792] the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas,
[642] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd
en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the
Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them
to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains
*631 and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal
619 rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up
the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun,
the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different
political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think
fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the
[796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives
[692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and
by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

/183 cont./

616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the
178 inhabitants of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to
124 collect easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
616 only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose political
*634 horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
*634 sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
616 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
128 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
● [175] the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

/199 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

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History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

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Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us, include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

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/199 cont./

•175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou
Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south
versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
*634 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
619 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classifi-
554 cation of the fractions in which the order and the place of each
one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the
booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for
ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

> 1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
648 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
•175 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

> 1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

[173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./
616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
•175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa. Fifty
years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/259 cont./

343 114 /footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

> "To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 178 But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 172 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Ma^{c}cho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 175 726 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

/259 cont./

343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

(648) The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel A'ouljad, that of Ima^{c}izen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ^{c}Ali), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Bela^{c}id).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVI^{e} siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs, and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

/260 cont./

343 As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the
712 inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also
*634 provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural
726 centers of resistance against the domination of the great
chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it
[631] to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth
•[175] century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose
*[631] conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

> [539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
> He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of
712 fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last
years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact
178 the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate
726 consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

/261 cont./

343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

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[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/269 cont./
642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
• [175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these combats
661 the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Seksawa
•175 in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
*634 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded
in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ᶜAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors
of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

/274 cont./

•175 *634 him the brilliant career whose stages we shall soon learn (1).

1. Notes from F. de La Chapelle.

*634 556 661 III. The first financial resources of the chief. -- The always difficult situation of the new amghar is more rapidly ameliorated when to the redoubtable strength of a numerous clan he joins the irresistible power of money. Money is indeed, according to the words of the Berbère /Berber/ poet (2):

2. Justinard, Manuel de Berbère du Sous /Manual of Berber of the Sous/, p. 67.

"A diplomat who does not allow no in speaking."

By buying the co-operation of the enemies of his enemies, the amghar will succeed in conquering more easily than by the force of his arms.

*634 556 434 661 [681] But the resources of the canton chief at his beginnings are very limited. The landed wealth in these rugged valleys is acquired only very slowly, to the mind of an ambitious man; it cannot exceed, moreover, the possession of a few fields and a thousand sheep and always remains insufficient to serve great schemes. The proceeds from the fines, it is true, do not stop increasing, because the scales of settlement rise at the same time as the amghar's authority is asserted; the chief confiscates for his own advantage the criminals' property and reduces more and more the part left for the notables of the council. One can even say that there is no surer way to judge the authority taken by the amghar than to know in what manner the primitive rules of distribution of the fines into three equal parts have been modified to his advantage.

[431] [681] One can further add to these meager benefits the gifts received at the time of the arbitration of conflicts, the fines collected in the little mountain souqs /sooks/ in administering justice there, and finally the contributions that all the families of the "taqbilt" consent to pay annually. But all that cannot

/275 cont./
121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the
beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80 years will make us understand better what help the opposition of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

●175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the
616 kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel
Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
175 and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
*634 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
616 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
726 in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the
Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was
commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arba^{c}in"
*634 of his "mouda^{c}." He was a simple man without ambition, who
was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the
double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère
/Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
*634 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
616 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at
726 discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the
little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

• 175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
616 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his can-
726 ton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

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1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly
attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./

•175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem
Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after
having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son
of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also
obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness,
his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of
the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
616 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
726 espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi;
the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors
from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit,"
wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the
Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused
struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/
the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït
ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the
Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the
mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried
on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances.
Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to
the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part,
Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to
him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain
fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support.
For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from
the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/279 cont./

175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).

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1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idma that two families of amghars have kept power without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

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[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./
• 175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
175 his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

/281 cont./
•175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
616 but still at present one sees the Aït arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the Aït arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and Aït Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/285 cont./

*634 616 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt" -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

*634 616 178 In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

•175 *634 726 In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

/286 cont./

175 removed from the influence of the kaid of Agergour by remoteness
*634 and the difficulty of the mountain roads, a notable from the
726 northern Dir of the Atlas, established at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa,
had also tried to seize power. The death of the sultan Moulay
[648] ᶜAbd er-Rahman had been the signal for a siba /revolt/ of five
[712] years, which had devastated the whole plain; the little cities of
the Dir had been constrained to build ramparts and agadirs in
haste in order to shelter families, flocks, and harvests from the
attacks of the Arab tribes. By means of these wars the newly
enriched son of a fellah, Mohammed Ou ben ᶜAli, had distinguished
himself. For a long time already, at the head of his
ikhs," he had succeeded in imposing himself upon each of the
minor sheiks whose council ensured the government of the hamlets
of the olive grove of Tisgin. Soon, in an agadir built out of
his solicitude to harbor the provisions of the inhabitants in case
of danger, he had constructed a solid house decorated with a
monumental door, still visible in our day amidst the ruins. In
order to make security prevail in the plain and to realize his
ambitious projects, Ou ben ᶜAli, in imitation of the chief of
Tagontaft, then gathered around him a small troop of mercenaries,
and his name began to be known at a great distance and his protection
respected.

175 The pasha of the casbah of Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Brahim
*634 el Grawi, governor of the tribes of the Dir -- the same one who
648 was to let the amghar of Tagontaft grow important for want of
power to stop him -- began to be disturbed about the doings of
Ou ben ᶜAli and then named to the command /287/ of Tisgin a
minor kaid, Bou Houch, whose mission was to stop the progress of
that overly active amghar. Certain of being assassinated in short
order, Ou ben ᶜAli made the first move; he surprised the makhzen
/makhzan/ chief in his house and killed him. From then on, in
open struggle with the pasha of the casbah, the amghar had to
flee into the mountains, into the cantons of his leff, that of the
"Imsifem." The struggle was brief. Whatever the amaghar's
prestige and courage were, he could not hope to rally around him
the population of the villages of the Dir, whose defenseless olive

/287 cont./
175 groves were at the mercy of the horsemen sent from Marrakech.
*634 After a year of useless skirmishes, the Grawi succeeded in getting
648 into the rebel's band two reliable slaves, who assassinated him at
Wadaker, with the complicity of the sheik Jorran. The two
traitors received 1,400 douros, and the head of Ou ben ᶜAli was
exhibited in Marrakech.

At Tisgin people have kept a living memory of this minor chief, remarkable for his courage and energy, perhaps equal to his fortunate rival of Tagontaft, but whose enterprise was doomed to failure in advance, because his village was too exposed to the blows of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

175 The reverse example of the amghar ᶜAli Ou Hammo of the
*631 Ida ou Zal on the south versant of the Atlas, to the northwest of
Taroudant, is no less suggestive.
*634 Formerly this tribe, like those of the vicinity, was under the
double regime of amghars and assemblies. The mountain cantons
were governed by councils of Aït arbaᶜin and moqaddems, while
at the foot of the Dir, at Tamda and Mneizla, two minor chiefs,
intermittently in communication with the Makhzen /makhzan/ of
Taroudant, carried out an action on their independent brothers
comparable to that of the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont.

But, while most of the tribes in the vicinity have found
[177] themselves mixed up in the politics of the great kaids or subject
to the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant for 20
years, the Ida Ou Zal, thanks to their geographic situation, have
escaped that pressure and remained free to organize themselves
175 to their liking. The last ten years of independence were immediately
*634 utilized by a young chief without scruples. ᶜAli Ou
Hammo, of the village of Lemmwé, was only a route cutter 15
years ago, and his first success was to manage to rob, in 1913,
the German advisers of the kaid Kabba of Taroudant, adventurer
in the service of El Hiba. Little by little, by pillaging neighbors,
by protecting his friends and /288/ brothers, he succeeded in increasing
his resources and forming a party for himself. In our
day, in the cantons that he holds in close dependence on him,
ᶜAli Ou Hammo has kept the Aït arbaᶜin and the moqaddems,

/288 cont./

175 *634 but has made them his creatures. Willy-nilly, the plain has had to accept his authority. This former thief is respected because he has made his fortune and is a man of his word. He holds the col of Ferqelma and the Tizi n Tgodicht and gains in this way, in a region where the passing of caravans is the principal source of wealth, a ceaselessly growing authority. All eyes are turned toward him in order to try to escape the feared conquest by the Mtougga. He now aspires to become a makhzen /makhzan/ [179] chief, on condition that his position as amghar be recognized. Placed with respect to Taroudant in a geographic situation analogous to the one that the amghar Ou ben ᶜAli had with regard to Marrakech, having started out still lower, ᶜAli Ou Hammo was exceptionally able to succeed because he had the good luck, during ten years of liberty, to act as he liked in a country still screened from the direct authority of the Sultan.

*634 X. The minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan. -- The appearance of amghars is not limited to the narrow region of the Atlas included between the Tizi Maᶜcho and the Tizi n Telwet, or in the country of the Sirwa, in that part of the mountains where the alliances of leffs between small autonomous "taqbilt" existed not long ago in a particularly stable form. One likewise observes it [171] in the other tribes of the south of Morocco, the same as in the [184] Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. Although these other minor chiefs are not called to so brilliant a career as that of their rivals of the high valleys of the Tichka, of the Nefis, or of Telwet, the conditions in which their power is born are identical with the ones that we have just studied; it will be easy for us to show that they, too, arise out of the quarrel of the soffs, grow more important through the war of the cantons, and at every point in the development of their policy follow the same rules that are imposed upon the amghars of the country of the Masmouda.

The examples that are offered us by the minor chiefs of the Ida Ou Tanan are all the more interesting to examine because this country lived in isolation in the nineteenth century, apart

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/300 cont./

*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the adverse
554 leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from faraway
571 tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house.
In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

•175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his
authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
159 domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
*634 the "Aït Iraten" in order to conquer the "Aït Atman" of the valley,
616 at the time when he had just asserted his independence with respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).
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[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Aït Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Aït Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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1. Cf. above, p. 367.

/301 cont./

•175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.

*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

/302 cont./

•175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in
648 pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Aït Atman," was in flight among the Aït Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Aït Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
*634 ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
[712] tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El
[726] Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "Aït Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult every-
[343] where, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provisions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./
•175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the
Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less
warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite
residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
*634 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south
578 among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein.
Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
616

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

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1. Cf. above, p. 239.

/304 cont./

•175 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
of kaid.

*631 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
726 kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./
175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the Aït Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.

Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
726 hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat
[727] n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "Aït
Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "Aït
[727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
*634 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
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/305 cont./
•175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
[616] in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
648 success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
*631 kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ (1).

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[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

•175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

• 175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a
victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions of the high mountains; it was important for his success that the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
*634 Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
726 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
616 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
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/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/ where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
*634 his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[625] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do
[602] not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep. He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, *Hespéris*, 1928, 3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
*634 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
616 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled
578 circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

•175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him
by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in
seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi ap-
proaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he
himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo.
For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later
he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
[726] The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his ad-
versary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house,
which makes his victory definitive.

175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
159 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
*634 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
631 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
578 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
726 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more
616 to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances
in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to
neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si
Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of
his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident
"Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he
finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he
annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the
"Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/309 cont./

•175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going
616 back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

/310 cont./

*634 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït
616 Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains, and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

• 175 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous
*634 formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqad-
616 dems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars
726 of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

*[631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/311 cont./

•175 Nevertheless, while the kaids of Tagontaft and Bouaboud
*631 were continuing their intrigues and extending little by little a
*634 kind of protectorate over the mountains through the agency of
726 minor chiefs, such as Si Mokhtar Seksawi of the Aït Lhasen,
Lhasen Chtittihi of the Aït Mousa, El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, the
last independent fractions of the inaccessible summits grouped
around the Tichka were, on the contrary, confusedly feeling the
desire to assemble their forces for a supreme effort in order to
keep what could still be saved of their traditions and their liberty.

175 The great summer gatherings, where the innumerable flocks
*634 of the mountain cantons come together again on the highest
221 pastures, enabled El Hajj Moulid to establish useful political re-
233 lations with all the moqaddems of the nearby "taqbilt." During
726 the fine season the valley villages are deserted, while all the
[361] inhabitants of the region settle on the highest summits in stone
enclosures. Each "taqbilt" has its boundaries, but the flocks
mingle and enemy families themselves conclude truces during
this happy period of pastoral life. Thus, a little pacific republic
is born again each summer on the Tichka, and agreements ap-
proved by the moqaddems or amghars make order prevail and
severely repress thefts or dissensions.

175 El Hajj Moulid, who, by the origin of his power and by his
*634 family relations, could easily intervene in the affairs of the two
159 leffs, knew how to utilize cleverly the favorable circumstances
554 that the life of the high mountains and the isolation in which the
last independent tribes were living offered him. His son Si
Ahmed, who succeeded him about 1900, continued the same
policy /312/ and extended his power little by little, now by force,
now by persuasion, over the Ida Ou Izimmer, the Irohalen of
Tilet, and the Aït Tounert. Having become in our day the
master of one of the biggest villages of the high mountains, pos-
sessor of innumerable flocks, the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous is
[431] celebrated for his generosity. At the time of the great festival,
"his servants collect part of the sheep; he sits in front of his door
and presents an animal as a gift to all those who come to present

/312 cont./

•175 their wishes to him" (1).

*634

159 1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

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[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting *634 the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order 619 to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If 616 that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last 616 example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain 121 Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the 648 "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that 133 come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys"
(1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[648] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in
the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

•175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrahman,
159 a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated
the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of
the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the
Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the
mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's
authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by
the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover,
the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were
the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal,
Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for
him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti,
*634 established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
726 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
*631 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
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159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that followed
726 this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ^{c}Omar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then
assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat
and of the Ouled Ben Seba^c, then arrived at Adasil and /314/
repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain
"Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained legendary.
159 According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombardment
697 of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
[648] summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general confusion.
[776] At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali,"
in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back
to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden
under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar
took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the
searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ^{c}Aziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf,"
which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house
of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ^{c}Omar Touzzalti
159 had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and support
*634 Emir ^{c}Abd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
726 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
616 Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
[648] After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared
they were quits. Si ^{c}Omar even married the sister of the
amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress,
the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./
175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him.
Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert
tried to regain their independence with the support of the
Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his
heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not
suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore
him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsi-
fern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they
pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off
the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As
long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in
the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support
of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way suc-
ceeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose
all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon
to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

/315 cont./

*631 *634 616 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

•175 *631 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan, semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

*[634] [616] [648] We know very few things about the constitution of their command. It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs. In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him, in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

•175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
616 strength: the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then
constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the
"Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the
"Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented
there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in
concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then
passed, with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben
Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the
South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of
Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very
[178] moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his
turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs
"Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and
stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
648 Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the
Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
*634 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
175 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa,
616 relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons
of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
• 175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests."

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).

[578] 1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

*634 /323 cont./
554 of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a
178 serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that
791 for them the Iron Age has come.

792 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to
791 their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly
554 carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into
178 relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it
[212] could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the
[776] scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the
*[634] amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious
power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have
•175 ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be,
791 rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa,
792 who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igez-
554 zoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of
the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif
of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa;
his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of
Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without
[431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives
him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to
make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits
[692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively
pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and every-
body gives to him" (1).

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of
Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition.
Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they pre-
served strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is
[224] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please
[541] God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

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[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

175
791 /324 cont./
792 great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is,
554 moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which
[224] warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away
[541] into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and
[681] the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of
792 the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive.
554 It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who
deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many in-
648 dependent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one
*(634) of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the
178 most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost,
one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the tempo-
648 ral leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

/325 cont./

*634 648 178 It is by an alliance with the Sultan that we are going to see the chief of the Atlas continue his ambitious career and carry his tribe along to distant and profitable conquests, the consequence of which is the ruin of the country.

000 /326/

Chapter III

The Great Berbère /Berber/ Kaids of the Mountains

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1883). -- II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). -- III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy (1850-1894). -- IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire (1902-1913). -- VI. Submission to France. -- VII. The internal organization of a large command. The casbahs. -- VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- IX. The financial resources. The kaid, master of the lands. -- X. The transformation of the customs. -- XI. The great kaids' policy of conquest. -- XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- XVI. Does a Berbère /Berber/ feudality exist? -- XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs.

•175 *631 In the course of the last years of the nineteenth century one could see rising at the same time, in the various parts of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ where up to here we have looked for the most numerous examples of the appearance and development of the "amghars," great chiefs who, in the name of the Sultan, conquered large territories. Their power marks the last form of transition between the old tribal organization and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

121 128 *631 It is possible for us to follow, for about 50 years, the endeavors that these Berbère /Berber/ kaids of the mountains pursued in order to increase their power in the South of Morocco, to

/326 cont./
121 enslave their subjects, and to mingle in the life of the Empire.
128 This study allows us moreover to observe the similarity of the
*631 rules that control the organization of their commands and of
their conquests. With respect to the Makhzen /makhzan/, they
preserve a surprising parallelism in their attitudes and policy, so
that one will rightfully be able to speak, from the time of the
entering of Marrakech by the French, of the "regime of the great
chiefs."

121 Before examining the form taken by the domination that the
128 new /327/ masters of the mountains exercise over the tribes, and
which marks the ruin of the Berbère /Berber/ republics and the
175 overturning of the traditional social organization, we must first
*631 retrace the successive stages of the career of the great chiefs.
Four distinct periods can be considered: up to the end of Moulay
el Hasan's reign, they are content to increase their forces in their
tribes without manifesting their ambitious projects and are hardly
to be distinguished from the other minor kaids of the vicinity.
175 During the first part of the reign of Moulay ^{c}Abd el ^{c}Aziz, from
*631 1894 to 1902, we see them throw themselves separately into the
conquest of the best regions of the country that are found in the
[648] vicinity of their casbahs; then, when anarchy breaks out in the
whole Empire, from the war of Bou Hamara up to the moment
when order is re-established at Marrakech by Colonel Mangin's
victory in 1912, they multiply the distant expeditions, fight
jealously among themselves in order to keep their conquests, to
obtain command of the tribes long subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and compete in order to make their candidates win the
supreme power of the Empire. Finally, after agreeing to serve
the Protectorate, they finish consolidating their establishment;
they hardly dream anymore except of obtaining from their subjects the resources necessary for the life that they lead with their
relatives and companions in their large fortresses of the Atlas or
their rich houses in Marrakech.

128 It will be suffice for us here to outline, during each of these
*631 periods, separated from one another by dynastic events, the
policy followed in their domains by the three mountain chiefs.

/327 cont./

•175 *631 *634 159

I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We have studied at length the first stages of the formation and development of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

[648]

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

175 *631 *634 159 616 726

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom, which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar" of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Pour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./
•175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley. This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar
*634 Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

•175 In the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
*634 the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagontaft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Aït
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the
•175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864, when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader,
[648] charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*631 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
*634 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
616 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
578 Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Actually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the
[648] struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

• 175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ʿAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ʿAmer.
*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of
578 origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa
and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*631 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
*634 enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
[712] family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
• toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
159 Nefis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*631 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
*634 establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
[712] eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Aït ben
ᶜAli. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glawa will henceforth be turned toward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
/332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
159 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by
*631 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
*634 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
648 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
726 the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
578 of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

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• 175 established in the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten. At rare intervals,
*631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Aït Mousa,
578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
*631 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
726 reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi even succeeded
[669] for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
named among the Mtougga three minor kaids at his disposal, supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally fortune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaids of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj ^{c}Omar (1) of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

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1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been successively the kaid Ahmed n Ait S^{c}adoun, El Hajj ^{c}Addi, died in prison at Mogador about 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed, died about 1859, El Hajj ^{c}Omar, died about 1880, and El Hajj Mesa^{c}oud, died about 1890, finally ^{c}Abd el Malek ben Mohammed (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a steadfast manner, has held the office of Khalifat /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have succeeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother of the kaid ^{c}Addi, the moqaddem El Housin, son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons, Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

/333 cont./

175 *631 726 knew how to maintain valuable divisions among his enemies, the Haha. After the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Moulay el Hasan had given three kaids to the great confederation. One of them, Mbarek Anflous, of the tribe of the Neknafa, managed to regain unity again; but adroit politics enabled the Mtougga to have him thrown into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and to have named in his place four new minor kaids incapable of agreeing with one another (1878).

175 *631 648 Free from worries from the side of the Haha, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi turned toward the East. He then got the Ida Ou Ziki as well as the Nfifa and the Demsira, whose minor autochthonous kaids were put in irons by the Sultan. But again this time the abuses became such and the domination of the Mtougga so intolerable that complaints sent to Moulay el Hasan were heard, and these mountain tribes got to be governed from Marrakech by the kaid el Hamida Menebbhi for 12 years until 1892.

175 *631 About 1890, young ᶜAbd el Malek succeeded his uncle, the kaid Mesaᶜoud, brother of El Hajj ᶜOmar. As soon as he took command, he gave evidence of great cleverness in the politics of the mountain tribes. A kaid of the plain, Saïd el Korimi, neighbor of the Haha, had succeeded in having the command of the Nfifa and the Demsira taken away from the Menebbhi to his advantage. By cunning provocations ᶜAbd el Malek caused a revolt to break out upon the passage of a "mehalla" of Sidi Mohammed, son of the Sultan. Some months before the death of Moulay el Hasan the Korimi was dismissed. The Mtougga, remaining in possession of the Ida Ou Ziki and the Mesgina, no longer had any powerful enemy and the way toward the south was also free for them.

175 *631 648 During the last years of the old Sultan's reign, we see each of the young kaids of the Atlas, Si ᶜAbd el Malek /334/ Mtouggi, Si Tayeb Gontafi, Si el Madani Glawi, multiply his intrigues in the mountains, reinforce his alliances, and, by the workings of the leffs, pave the way for the conquest of the neighboring tribes. But their action is similar to the work of termites, which mine the country while remaining invisible. Actually, nobody is

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175 *631 648 anxious to engage in combats that could put the sovereign on guard and attract his fearsome attention. It is known that he is resolutely hostile to the excessive development of the power of his kaids and that he tries to split up the commands everywhere (1); so each one limits himself, in the shadows, to paving the way for the future while awaiting an impending crisis.

IV. The great chiefs of the Atlas in the conquest of the tribes (1894-1902). -- In fact, the death of Moulay el Hasan leads to a veritable explosion of the forces accumulating within these Berbère /Berber/ mountain commands. The "siba" of some months that then breaks out facilitates intrigues and the first annexations. Then when peace is restored and Ba Hmad, the former Hajib turned into grand vizier, reigns in the name of the still young ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the mountain chiefs feel free to act in their own way toward the south. In 1897 each one rushes on the prey that he has coveted for a long time; until 1902 the struggle will go on without truce among the kaids, the amghars, and the independent republics.

121 *631 In view of the successes won so rapidly by the kaids of the Atlas, it is difficult to explain their development by only invoking the favorable circumstances created by the anarchy following the end of a glorious reign. The establishment of a new form of domination realized by several chiefs over large areas in a few years seems to imply the existence of a more precise cause. It is easy to discover it by examining the circumstances in which the

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1. At this moment we see the Sultan give the title of kaid to a notable of the Seksawa, Lahsen /sic/ ou Mbarek Chtittihi, although he is incapable of having himself accepted in the mountains. Moreover, it is known that the number of kaids increased considerably in the reign of Moulay el Hasan (Erckmann, Le Maroc moderne /Modern Morocco/, p. 122).

/334 cont./
121 conquest of the tribes was realized during these five years of war:
*631 it is the presence of modern armament in the hands of the great
kaids.

•175 In the course of the two sherifian expeditions into the Sous,
*631 in 1882 and 1886, there figures in fact, for the first time in the
/335/ mehallas of the Sultan, a true artillery, operated by
713 specialists, under the command of a French officer; machine
648 guns and especially cartridge guns thus appear, which attract the
439 attention of the Berbères /Berbers/. The young mountain chiefs
understand immediately the advantage that they will be able to
draw from these new arms, against which the old flintlock guns
of the montagnards will be worthless. Thus shortly afterward we
see the Glawi ask for and get from the old sovereign, upon the
passage of the mehalla from the Tafilelt, a Krupp cannon and
modern guns. The Gontafi and the Mtouggi take care to buy at
Mogador or to obtain from the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Ba Hmad,
"Martinie" and "Chassepot" guns in order to put them in the hands
of their companions. The supplying of arms to the South of Morocco is all the easier because the European powers are then competing to intervene in the affairs of the Moroccan Empire, and
because certain of them are facilitating the clandestine importation of guns and cartridges, both on the Rif coasts and on those of
the Sous. For twenty years, until the progress of the contraband
enabled the tribes remaining independent to acquire in turn
chassepots, lebels /French magazine-rifles/, and Mausers, the
kaids of the Atlas will enjoy marked superiority in combat,
thanks to modern armament; they will be able to utilize it to
break all resistance and to constitute their large commands in a
few years.

175 The Glawi, fortunate possessor of the Krupp cannon, first begins the struggle against the amghars of the south of the Atlas,
*631 around whom are grouped the independent tribes. All forces of
*634 resistance to the penetration of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ -- for
726 Si el Madani invokes the name of the Sultan and orders received
648 from Marrakech in order to justify his conquests -- unite around
the amghar ᶜAli n Aît Haddo of the Aît Zineb, whose father,

/335 cont./
•175 Brahim, chief of the leff of the "Aït Iraten" for a long time, has
*631 already resisted the amghar Mohammed Ibibat. Si el Madani has
*634 on his side the mountain, all the fractions of the Glawa, the
726 "Inemzel" leff for the most part, and the Ouneila, at war with
[648] the Aït Zineb for possession of a limitrophe village. The power
of the amghar ᶜAli grows in the course of these battles; his pres-
tige eclipses that of the amghars of Tazenakht; his casbah of
Tamdakht is extended and fortified; around him live ever more
numerous companions, commanded by a "mechaouri," a kind of
chief of the mercenaries. For long months the Glawa are even
forced /336/ to defend the entrance to their territory at Imirgen;
Si Hammadi, Madani's brother, is beseiged by a rebel in his cas-
bah of Taourirt of the Warzazat. Finally, after several years of
efforts, the Makhzen /makhzan/ wins, the Glawa advance as far
as Tamdakht. Their cartridge rifles enable them to fight innu-
merable warriors of the Aït Waouzgit on the plain with advantage.
The siege of the casbah of the amghar ᶜAli goes on in spite of the
difficulties created by the fury of the tribes; each of the artificial
grottoes hollowed out of the cliff of the wadis encloses marksmen
[913] who decimate the assailants. Finally the Krupp cannon is brought
to 300 meters from the rampart, out of reach of the flintlock
rifles. Thirty shells are fired point-blank, piercing some breaches
in the rampart, and the qsar /fortified place/ is won after a
bloody battle. The amghar ᶜAli, fleeing in the desert, is over-
taken and his throat cut, and his head is sent to Telwet. The
tribes of the Aït Waouzgit accept the authority of the Glawa
(1900). For a few years all resistance disappears; the subjugation
of the Dadès, an expedition to the Todgha and to the Tafilelt
complete the victory.

Si Tayeb Gontafi profits no less fortunately by favorable cir-
cumstances. During the short "siba" that broke out upon the
[669] death of the Sultan, the tribes of the Dir north of the Atlas re-
volted and put to flight their minor kaids, who sought refuge at
Moulay Ibrahim of the Kik. The tribe of the Ouzgita is without
a chief; Si Tayeb advances with his forces and takes possession of
Agergour, where the enemy of his father, the kaid Brahim, so

/336 cont./
•175 often assembled expeditions against the amghar of Tagontaft.
*631 The Gontafi establishes one of his relatives in the casbah of
*634 Agergour, and for 30 years, except during the time of the su-
726 premacy of the Glawa, he will firmly maintain this conquest.
In 1897, after long preparations, Si Tayeb undertakes to subdue
the tribes of the south of Tagontaft; two high valleys of the
Gedmiwa, the Ogdemt and the Aghbar near Talat n Yaqoub and
Tagontaft, are won, then the harka of the Gontafi descends to-
ward the Aït Semmeg, the Onein, and the Ihouziyoun, breaking
the resistance of the tribes whenever it manifests itself. A revolt
of the Aghbar in which the independent "taqbilt" of the Seksawa
[669] and from south of the Tichka participate stops the distant expedi-
tions for a time; then Si Tayeb departs again for the Sous and
among the Inda ou Zal engages the Aït Semmeg of the South and
the Souktana, while relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." A
serious defeat stops him at the Aït Mimoun, among /337/ the
Souktana; wounded in combat, he goes back to his mountain for-
tress and henceforth contents himself with organizing his con-
quests (1902).

175 ^{c}Abd el Malek Mtouggi, like the Gontafi, has utilized the
*631 "siba" to put himself in the place of the minor chiefs of the Dir
726 of the north of the Atlas. He intervenes among the Mzouda, the
[669] Frouga and establishes himself at Amismiz, in the place left
vacant by the kaid in flight. The confederation of the Gedmiwa
is then divided between the two neighboring great kaids: the
plain and the Dir revert to ^{c}Abd el Malek, and Si Tayeb appro-
priates the mountains. Inversely from the other two great kaids
-- the Glawi and the Gontafi -- who are leaving on expeditions
toward the south, the Mtouggi reserves all his efforts for the tribes
of the Marrakech plain, and although possession of the Ida Ou
Ziki and Mesgina guarantees him access to the Sous plain, he
hesitates to get involved there. This is because a dangerous rival
is growing in importance on his flanks in the person of the kaid
Sa^{c}id of the Ida Ou Gelloul, at the center of the Haha country.
A favorite of the vizier Ba Hmad, the "Gellouli" even obtains at
that moment command of the plain of the Chtouka and of Tiznit.

/337 cont./

• 175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
*631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli
(1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these circumstances, ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the moment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira, Nfifa, and Dwiran.

175 V. The great kaids during the anarchy of the Empire
(1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaids
*631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impotence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
175 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
*631 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbère
726 /Berber/ kaids felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
[669] of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new
[712] ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again, as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
*631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of
578 conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Gedmiwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./
175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
*631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands,
the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
175 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
*631 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
726 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, ᶜAbd
el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
minor kaids into their protection.

Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
175 lay ᶜAbd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
*631 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check ᶜAbd el
726 ᶜAziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
648 obstinate, remains a partisan of ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz; ᶜAbd el Malek
Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side
to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he
in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his
enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless
loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of ᶜAbd el
ᶜAziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi,
chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El
Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Mar-
rakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay ᶜAbd el
Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the
"Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
*631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
648 lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his ele-
vated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marra-
kech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all
the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz.
His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs
and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-
Khaldun/.

/339 cont./

• 175 *631 726 With admirable opportunism the Mtouggi has made himself the ally of Si el Madani. He even sends a harka against the minor chiefs of the Sous valley supported by the Gontafi. The lamentable repulse of this little army, beaten by the Howara, will moreover suffice to deter ᶜAbd el Malek from intervening again in the plains of the South.

175 *631 648 726 Nevertheless, events rush on and upset the fragile policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The intervention of the French at Fez during the summer of 1911 causes the disgrace of Si el Madani, followed shortly afterward by the retreat of the sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid. The Glawa regain their fortresses in the Atlas, and, without losing a day, the astute ᶜAbd el Malek rushes behind them to take possession of the tribes of the Dir that they abandon.

Finally, a last storm rises in the south and swoops down on the Atlas. El Hiba, the son of Ma el Ainin, a fanatic who, in the desert of Mauritania, at the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign, preached hatred of Christians, leaves the interior plain of the Sous and crosses the col of Ameskrout and the Bibaoun in order to head for Marrakech. He announces to the populations, weary of the exactions of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the kaids, the reign of justice. His companions, the Arabs of the desert, pass him off as the Mahdi, "the master of the hour," charged with delivering the country and reviving Islam. This explosion of xenophobia is as fearsome for the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs as for the Christians, because it calls on the popular forces hostile to their domination. The kaids shut themselves up in their casbahs and wait for the end of the adventure. Only ᶜAbd el Malek, out of spite against the Glawa, hostile to El Hiba, compromises himself for a time. But Colonel Mangin's cannon (September, 1912), which at Sidi Bou Otman scatters the "blue men" of the desert and the tribes of the Sous plains, is heard in the mountains, and the three great kaids come to submit to France, who confirms them in their commands.

175 *631 648 VI. Submission to France. -- It is, for the "lords of /340/ the Atlas," a new era that is beginning. Warlike rivalries have had their day; at present it is enough to make security reign in the conquered countries while reaping important benefits from these large territories.

/340 cont./

•175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c,
648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
619 Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the
region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal,
Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

*[634] 1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^cAbd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, th[illegible]houzioun, but

/340 cont./

•175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remain-
619 ing at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/
formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

/341 cont./

•175 favorable occasion presented itself, of revolting against an often *631 intolerable domination. One therefore will find at Tagontaft, 712 from the beginning, high towers, thick ramparts, large courtyards surrounded by stables in which the horsemen's mounts can be sheltered, large storehouses in which provisions for several months are assembled, in order to be able to withstand a long [312] siege if necessary. An aqueduct collects water from a nearby spring and brings it up to within the walls; watch stations in the /342/ vicinity complete the defense, and if, in a period of disorder, the alarm is given, the heavy gates of the fortress will be closed in the blink of an eye, the battlements will be filled with guns, and the big bolt will be pulled from the inside on the two leaves until the danger is past.

Later the chief has new chambers added, superposed on one another without any preconceived plan, according to the neces- [595] sities of the moment. He ceaselessly needs new rooms for his more and more numerous wives; larger rooms for receiving transient guests, sheiks, or subjects coming from all parts of a ter- [574] ritory always being enlarged. Although he himself lives simply, most often sleeping on a mat in a dark passage, the new kaid nevertheless has built, in order to receive guests of note fittingly, a few sumptuous rooms naïvely decorated with crude luxury, in which the desire of the Berbère /Berber/ parvenu to show off his wealth to the montagnards clearly appears.

Moreover, the fortress, planned first of all for war, soon becomes too confining and no longer suffices for the exigencies of a large command. At the edge of a watercourse, in the middle of the most fertile fields gained from the enemy, the subjects of the kaid build him a new casbah with less martial walls, with larger and more ornate rooms. Talat n Yaqoub will become the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi. Nevertheless, if war again threatens and it is necessary to find a refuge behind solid ramparts, a fortress especially intended for defense will be erected on the top of a nearby hill. Such a one is the Agadir n [333] Gouj, near Talat n Yaqoub, which moreover has remained unfinished, but which was constructed with care, with the advice of

/342 cont./

•175 the cleverest master masons. A large prison, corner towers and
*631 loopholes for defense in all directions, walls so thick that the
712 cannon of a Sultan himself would have difficulty in destroying
[333] them, enormous reserves of grain and fodder, that is what is
necessary in order to be able to resist victoriously in the future
the uprising of the tribes and especially the powerful harkas of
the enemy chiefs of the vicinity.

Other less imposing fortresses will serve, in the subject tribes,
as dwellings for the caliphates of the kaid, charged with collecting
the taxes and commanding in his name. All these construc-
[466] tions, moreover, will be executed in corvée by the tribes, under
[333] the /343/ direction of master masons coming mostly from the
Aït Bou Yaya of the Sahara. Their thick walls of beaten earth -- to which is given the name of "louh" -- poorly resist inclement weather, and they crack and crumble in one generation of men. It is enough to see them to understand that a chief hardly builds for his sons. Who knows what the future holds in so troubled a country? Moreover is it not the essential thing to build fortresses with the briefest delay, taking advantage of the short periods of peace?

By their use and their exterior aspect, the casbahs erected during the period when the power of the great chiefs remained threatened by revolts and wars differ greatly from the proud constructions whose number has been multiplying for ten years. Indeed, when the great chiefs of the mountains, confirmed in their power after rallying to the Protectorate, understood that they could henceforth live in security, they had residences built on all sides, sometimes ostentatious, adorned with high, whitewashed towers, crowned with merlons, provided with garages for their automobiles. The warlike aspect that these fortresses sometimes still have is no more than decoration. It seems that these buildings are above all intended to strike the minds of the subject populations by manifesting the wealth and the strength of the master. Several of them marvelously express, in the midst of the ruined houses of the subjects, the brutal character and the

•175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the administration
*634 of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jemaᶜa
of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It
613 is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the
beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of
the little state that he has created. He has found among them
first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis,
charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submission.
*631 When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secretary,
[648] will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère
[671] /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous
past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the
disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible
justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances
the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself,
seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the
petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate
and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close
advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides
with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, storehouse,
712 and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The innumerable
[574] guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay
sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
*634 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
178 imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that
power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so
much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of to-
day came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
619 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
178 be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

In the short period during which the large commands were
• [175] constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over
the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs,
sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original
territory.

/349 cont./

*631 *634 721 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what conditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

•175 *631 *634 616 178 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institutions were still very much alive in part of the confederation. About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal had preserved their Aït arba^{c}in and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

[578] The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence between the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 *631 *634 616 726 [669] Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the

• 175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the
amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
*631 break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*634 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
726 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/351 cont./

•175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
*631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
*634 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time
727 of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to
1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the
command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/352 cont./

*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

•175 *634 619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ^{c}Abdallah Ou Bihi,

/353 cont./

•175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the
authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain
trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

•175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and becomes
*631 the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies
taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission;
nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby
cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command
of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At
[726] the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become important
another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes
the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik
Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
*634 Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
651 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
178 "ᶜachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud;
but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own
chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no
advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
[616] Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared
and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being
effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
726 Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the combined
*631 action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal
and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi:
Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arba^{c}in and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.
726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has
become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its
neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït
Breher, Aït Cha^{c}ib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted
better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight
against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the
organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671] customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion
of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and
choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear
of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor
the policy of the kaids. The Aït Cha^{c}ib showed themselves to be
the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an
especially long time and consented to submit only on the express
condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud
only the ^{c}achour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most dis-
tant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït
Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independ-
ent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in
the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances
that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that re-
gion, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of
the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one per-
ceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often
prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination
of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669] by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

*631 /356 cont./
*634 minor revolutions taking place in the high valleys finds its cause
178 in the interest taken by the great kaids in the political transfor-
•[175] mation of the tribes.

[642] The masters of the casbahs would actually not be able to
[669] enter into relations with the turbulent councils of Aït Arbaᶜin, always ready to question their orders and call on the friendship of the nearby republics in order to refuse to pay them the tax. Thus submission can only be contrived through the agency of personal power, which must be created first of all. From then on, the great kaids are seen to favor with all their means the notables capable of imposing their authority on assemblies too respectful
*631 of custom and attached to independence. In all circumstances
we shall find these amghars disposed to treat with the great chiefs
*634 or the Makhzen /makhzan/ at the moment when conquest be-
178 comes inevitable. They will then present themselves as natural
648 intermediaries between the tribe that they have reduced and the power of the kaids who speak in the name of the Sultan. It is to their interest to handle carefully both the opposed sides and to facilitate the transformation of the country, which has become inevitable through the progress of the great chiefs. To succeed
*631 better in this, they themselves try to propagate, from canton to
*634 canton, the despotic regime that they have succeeded in install-
178 ing in their "taqbilt" (1).

1. It is in this way that in the high valleys of the Asif el Mal the amghars of the Aït Gair, ᶜAbderrahman Irro and his sons, were supported by the sheiks of the Ind Maghous, the Aït Jaᶜfar, most often devoted to the policy of the Gontafa. The Iwonsekten of the same leff underwent the same evolution under the same influence. The Imelwan also have amghars supported by the chief of the Aït Haddiyous of the Seksawa. The Aït Tiksit, of the "Imsifern" leff, rallied to the amghars of the Talekjont through the agency of their Tigouga neighbors, in turn got rid of their

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his
peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*634 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
•175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

*631 /361 cont./
*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si ᶜOmar
726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the
•175 middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a
command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
*634 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
174 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself;
171 the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king
or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern-period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

/362 cont./

*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

*631 578 669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaids; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

*631 593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

*631 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and
*631 his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions
•175 the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the moun-
648 tain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

/363 cont./

*631 Mauritania grouped around the Mahdi el Hiba, proclaiming to
•175 the people of the Sous the rule of justice and the expulsion of the
648 Christians at the same time. Shut up almost immediately in their casbahs upon the proclamation of the pretender, delivering up today to the most complete anarchy the country that they exploited yesterday, the kaids of the Atlas could not wish for the success of this holy-war movement: they feared too much, actually, that the Berbères /Berbers/ of their commands would be tempted to turn their forces against them in a moment of enthusiasm and easily succeed in destroying them; taking the side of order, of the Makhzen /makhzan/, even that of the Christians if they were the strongest, there lay salvation. In exchange for their /364/ submission to General Mangin the three great chiefs, who were promising to keep the tribes obedient, saw the prospect of new conquests opening for them. Delivered from the threat of this explosion of fanaticism and anarchy, which for an instant had risked carrying them away, the great kaids were henceforth going to devote their efforts to carrying on the work of the subjugation of Berbérie /Barbary/ in their states on behalf of the Sultan and of Islam with a renewed ardor.

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Chapter IV

Domination by the Makhzen and the Transformation of the Country

I. The Sultan and his court. -- II. The sherifian army. -- III. The tax circuits. -- IV. The Makhzen's Berbère /Berber/ policy. -- V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- VII. Abuses. -- VIII. "The siba." -- IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions.

121 In following the political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/
178 mountain tribes, we have seen them reach that degree of transformation where the difference between the country formerly independent and the bled makhzen occupied by the Arab tribes of

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination
*631 that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with
the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains.
But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions
under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives
how much the forces on which he depends have changed;
less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported
by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the
country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the
confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws
his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

• 175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
*631 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
648 kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
[554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his com-
648 mand in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

•175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63] Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.

[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

[712] In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. [342] [343] Inside, he first of all builds his house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1), by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

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1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

/381 cont./

• 175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and forget
159 their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained
a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses
built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended
to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material
aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance,
use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

/381 cont./

175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a reputation
701 only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the command;
*631 the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
619 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge
712 of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

*631 /382 cont./
•175 Aghennaj. The Makhzen had accepted what it could not destroy:
159 the descendants of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa sent to the sultan each
648 year a couple of slaves as a present, while they received as
431 "ziara" a sum of 1000 metqal.

175 Very friendly relations were even established between El Hajj
ᶜAbdallah and the sherif of the Tazerwalt. Soon their friendship
159 became almost an alliance, and one day one saw coming to the
*631 camp of the caliphate /383/ of the Makhzen, set up on the banks
571 of the Asif Oulghas, Sidi Hosein himself, escorted by "Aït
574 Arbaᶜin" of the mountains, 400 in number, bringing as a gift, the
431 witnesses still say, 32 slaves, 8 horses, 10 embroidered saddles,
12 silver guns, amber, and gold from the Sudan. Assembled
sheiks of the Haha and mountain notables from the Anti-Atlas
spent several days in festivities, and they celebrated the power of
Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, which was such, the poet still says, "that
his equal was never seen."

175 Several years afterward an unfortunate adventure happened to
159 Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. A rekkas /courier who carries dispatches/
648 sent by him to the chief of the Tazerwalt, with whom he had not
ceased to maintain relations, no doubt inoffensive for the security
*631 of the Makhzen, forgot his letters on a rock while praying. They
[203] could never be found again; but some time later, just as Hajj
[431] ᶜAbdallah was betaking himself to Marrakech to pay to the sultan
the "hédia," the traditional presents given on festive occasions, he
was received by Sidi Mohammed himself, who showed him the
lost letters. "What do you prefer now? Do you wish to drink this
tea in silence, or will I have to take out walking in the tribes the
great kaid Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, with irons on his feet, before
having his head cut off?"

[762] El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi reflected, took the glass of poison
with resignation, and went away to die in the chamber where,
away from home, his cadi who had accompanied him was waiting
for him (1868).

*631 VII. Abuses. -- Outside of the happy periods during which,
648 under the leadership of a kaid in favor at court, the Berbère
/Berber/ tribe, invoking the sultan's orders, can live at the

/385 cont./

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VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makh-
zen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness.
The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan,
since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience --
that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand,
will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign un-
● [175] til the strongest or cleverest has won. The longest crises of an-
archy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a
half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mo-
hammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay
ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el
Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested
by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the
yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

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When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed; the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*634 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.

554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
•175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Madani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time
554 of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ᶜAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 *631 •175 554 648 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 *631 *634 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 182 *634 *631 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

105 182 *634 *631 616 571 This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther, which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said, within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs," by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of immense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

/406 cont./

121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation
*631 of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism
or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the
Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --
795 We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
*631 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence
of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
• [175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
[178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
[128] time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics
of these religious states, because they have ceased to
have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by
reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries
by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
[648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the
masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

/407 cont./

792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw
back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded
by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the
montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[778] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with
[788] green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great
annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the
merits of their holiness.

•175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
795 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas,
*631 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family
tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive
this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into
a definitive decline (1).

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel
171 ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants
were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally
the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal
leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

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1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

/410 cont./
178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions
*631 of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the
language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the
/411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the
social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
795 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the
*631 Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
182 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
792 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
795 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the or-
*631 ganization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

IV. TRADITIONAL RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[P.44]

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Structurally, the Berber and Arabic-speaking core-areas of rural 171
Morocco hold many features in common. Both areas are characterized
by tribal units; both have kinship groupings defined by [611]
common descent in the male line; both have a patriarchy, and residence [591]
of a married couple with the husband's family; both customarily [361]
reside in villages if they are sedentary, or in nomadic camps
if they engage in the care of flocks and herds. Both regions profess [771]
the same religion, and have similar religious institutions, associations,
and beliefs. The outstanding differences between the Berbers
and the Arabic-speaking peoples reside in those social institutions
having a political nature, and in the legal systems. In these there is [64]
an almost continuous gradiation from the independent and decentralized
Berber republics, through semi-Arabized and Arabized-
Berber tribes, to the Bedouin *guich* tribes who were formerly completely
involved in supporting an absolute and highly centralized
government.

The traditional independence of the Berbers of the *Bled es Siba*, [648]
and the social pattern associated with it, survived until very recently, [175]
for the last independent tribes accepted government authority
only in 1935. Berber independence in legal matters still continues, [691]
for, although the *dahir Berbere* (the French decree of 1930 giving [648]
Berber customary law equal status with Moslem law) was repealed
in 1956, customary law still continues to determine legal process.
In other matters the ancient trend towards Arabization continues [177]
and has been slightly accelerated, with groups demonstrating
every degree of transition from their traditional pattern to that of
the Arabic-speakers of the plains.

•oo mité sur des solutions qui, en cherchant à ménager tous les intérêts, risquaient souvent de ne satisfaire personne (Loubignac, 1942, p. 284).

635 This conflict between the tribal chief and the tribal council, which
631 in the pre-Protectorate period generally resulted in victory for the
669 representative council among the Beraber, Riffians, and Shluh of
• 175 the Anti-Atlas, was resolved in favor of the chiefs among the Shluh of the western High Atlas. Here, a number of chiefs, taking advantage of the general state of inter-tribal warfare existing around 1893, seized absolute power within their tribes and, with the help of arms smuggled in from the coast, extended the areas of their control and established quasi-feudal caidates. The most important of these existed in the High Atlas between Safi and Mogador on the coast, to the Dades-Dra region, and included the caidates of the Abdas (headed by Si Aissa Ben Omar), of the Hahas (Anflous), the M'Tougas (Si Abd el Malek), the Goundafas (Si Tayeb Goundafi), the Glaouas (Si Madani Glaoui, and later his brother Haji Thami Glaoui), and the Ahensals (Sidi Moh Hansali) (Great Britain, 1919, pp. 157-161; La Chapelle, 1928; Montagne, 1928; 1930, pp. 269-364, 395-400; 1949, pp. 116-117).

The principalities established by these conquering *imgharin* were generally organized after the pattern established by the *Makhzen*, and somewhat resembled small independent feudal states in medieval Europe. Each *amghar* or *caid* nominally acknowledged the Sultan as temporal ruler, but actually remained independent. Each *caid* assumed the ultimate power and authority, as well as title to the land, by right of conquest. Each governed his domain through deputies, known as *khulafa'* (pl. of *khalifa*), who were usually, though not always, members of his family. Each *caid* and *khalifa* resided in a heavily fortified residence (actually a palace) known as a *kasbah* (pl. *kisab*), together with his household, men and women who tilled the land surrounding the castle for the owner's profit, masons, carpenter, a cobbler and a tailor, and the manager of a small food shop. In the literature on southern Morocco, the term *kasbah* is often erroneously applied to a *ksar*; such usage is only correct in the relatively infrequent case that a *ksar* contains a *kasbah* as at Ouarzazate (Landau, 1951, pp. 82-83).